

SPECIAL
COLLECTIONS
DOUGLAS
LIBRARY



QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA



THE
INSURRECTIONS
FOR
K. CHARLES II
VINDICATED, &c.



special
collections

DOUGLAS
LIBRARY



QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

THE
INSURRECTIONS
FOR
K. CHARLES II^d
VINDICATED.

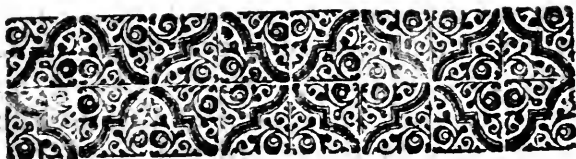
TOGETHER,
With an ENQUIRY into a *Parallel*
that has been lately drawn.

IN A
LETTER to a FRIEND.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the *Oxford*
Arms in *Warwick-Lane*. MDCCXV.

1951



S I R,

COMPASSION is so naturally due to the Distresses of those who Act upon Principle, that good Men ever extend it to such as divide with them upon that very Principle: And this Instance of Humanity is yet more commendable, when we endeavour, with the tenderest Regard to the Sufferers Case, to disabuse them in those Notions which led them into their Distresses.

This you know, my Friend, has been both the Occasion and the Subject of some late Conversation between us Two. A very sad Case now in being, the present Rebellion, brought into your Mind another past Case of the Cavaliers in the time of Usurpation upon *Charles* the First and Second. We agreed upon the
Justice

Justice of their Principle, as well as the Hardship of their Case, even in their Plots and Insurrections against the several successive Powers that rul'd over them. The only Point in Debate, was Parallel or no Parallel : And the Course of that Debate led us into so many material Considerations, which now it seems divide even Honest Men and Church-Men in several Instances I cou'd mention, that I determin'd with my self to take a review of them, and set them down.

I think the whole of their Cause, who in those Times attempted the Restoration, is reducible to Three main Points.

First, *What that Government was which those Gentlemen then opposed.*

Secondly, *In what Circumstances they were who did oppose it.*

Thirdly, *What was the apparent Design and Tendency of the Opposition they made.*

And in passing through the many Particulars reducible to these, I shall state the Question between us, with that Impartiality and Seriousness, which such a Weighty, such an unhappy Case requires from those

those that treat upon it with any Design of doing Good.

Under the first of these Heads give me leave to observe concerning that Government, during the whole space of its Continuance. 1st, *That it was all a meer wicked Usurpation, without any precedent Title or just Claim whatsoever.* 2dly, *That it totally subverted the Ancient Legal and Fundamental Constitution of this Realm.* 3dly, *That it never gain'd what can properly be called any Legal Establishment of it self.*

1st. The Royal Cause suffer'd under a meer wicked Usurpation. This Charge will be admitted by all equal Judges, against those whose private Ambition to raise themselves, and stand upon the Ruins of the Monarch and Monarchy, made them first Murmurers, then Factious, and after that Rebels and Regicides.

But we may be sure Ambition was never pleaded; the Danger of the Subjects Property, and the Introduction of Popery, made all the Noise. To the former of these the Tax of Ship-Money gave the best Face. Yet here it ought to be observ'd by us at this distance, that the

Lines

Lines which divide Prerogative and Property in this Constitution, were then by no means so visibly mark'd out, as they are now. They were frequently shifted, not only from the Conquest to the *Barons Wars* ; but from thence almost in every Reign, down to that of *Charles the First*. And then the greatest Lawyers were divided upon the Point, whether on Emergency the Crown cou'd Levy Money without the Parliament ; and the utmost that can be said in this Case, is, that Ten of his own Judges mis-led their good King. But still admitting it to be a true Instance of Oppression on the Subject ; yet as it was a single one, it cou'd amount to no Inclination of subverting Property, in that Prince, whose more equitable and gracious Disposition, sufficiently discernible through his main Conduct, and the Tenor of his Regal Actions, were Pleas strong enough in bar to any intended Tyranny in him. And this very Notion enter'd the Heads of the *Anabaptists* at last, when in their humble Address, which my Lord *Clarendon* has Printed in his Third Volume, to *Charles the Second* then in *Exile*, after recounting what they call Blots and Stains upon the otherwise good Government of the late King, they say, *That these proceeded*

ceeded from the Pravity of his own Disposition, or from Principles of Tyranny radiated and implanted in his own Nature, we do not see how it can be asserted without apparent Injury to the Truth ; it being confessed, even by his most peevish Enemies, that he was a Gentleman, as of the most strong and perfect Intellectuals, so of the best and purest Morals, of any Prince that ever swayed the English Scepter.

The other Pretence of Religion was more egregiously wicked than this ; and whatever his deluded Subjects might apprehend, I dare say their Deluders understood it so. Time however, has so clearly wip'd off the Calumny, in his subsequent Conversation, Professions, Disputations, and his Death, that a Man must have more Forehead than Brains, not to say Conscience, to revive it at this time o' Day.

There was no just Pretence therefore (if any Pretence had been sufficient) for the Alienation of the Supreme Power from that Crown'd Head to the Senate ; much less when we find the Senate dismembring it self to a Rump of one House ; an Army commanding the Senate, and a meer wicked Upstart, at the Head of the Army, snatching the Reins of the Nation.

And now, if under this Head we seek for the *Parallel*, instead of it, we shall certainly find the *Reverse*. We have seen the Power of dispensing with all Laws actually assumed, which cuts them all off at one Blow ; and the Profession, nay, and apparent Endeavours to set up Popery in the Nation, that these very Grievances, (the bare and unjust suspicion of which rais'd the Rebellion) were notoriously true, and were made the Foundation of the Revolution. And then there can be no more Likeness between the two Cases than this, That the Son lost his Crown for the *Reality* ; but the Father for *the meer Pretence* lost his Life.

But I know not whether we need look back to the Revolution ; his present Majesty ascended the Throne by a precedent Title, establish'd by all the Powers of the Nation, recognized over and over again, nay, alternately by each Party as they were uppermost, and opposed by almost none. And what has been offensively done since the Accession, besides putting in and turning out of Places, disposable by undoubted Right in the Crown, will be hard to say. But this I am sure falls short of all the Pleas the old Rebels made ; they ever urg'd (what I am sure these cannot yet

yet do) Illegal and Male-Administration ; And when they mention'd Evil Counsellors, it was always by reason of the Advice they gave, not the Authority by which they gave it. Whereas, at present 'tis well known, that the meer Promotion is the greatest Part of the Grievance.

2dly, The next Circumstance in the Cause of the Royalists, was a total Subversion on the other side ; for I think it can be termed no less, when neither was the Crown left standing, nor the States entire, nor the People at all justly represented ; and in Reality, the People and Parliament were no less usurp'd upon than the Monarchy it self. The Government (if it must be so call'd) might then be termed a Commonwealth, and no Commonwealth ; or a kind of a mock *Aristocracy*, with an Arbitrary *Doge* at the Head on't ; or any Thing besides its own Ancient Monarchy ; to which the principal Authors of those Confusions were such Eternal Enemies, that for fear of a Dagger or a Cup from them, his Highness, in the midst of his Glory, durst not take upon him the Style and Title of a King.

Here, I think, I may at once forbid the Parallel. Did King *George's* Accession sub-

vert, or did it not support, the Constitution? And has there been any one Regal Act done since that, contrary to Law? ---- But here let me go back and observe to you, that the Revolution it self made not the least essential Change in our Ancient Form of Government; for as to Change of Succession in the Government, 'tis too well known to be enlarg'd upon here, that our Constitution has often undergone that Change before, and surviv'd it unhurt. But I alledge farther, that neither can the *Succession* it self be said in the Eye of the Law to be changed by the Revolution; but only suspended in one Case of a declared Incapacity, which as it does not alter the Hereditary Title, tho' it sets aside the Heir in private Estates, so neither can it be suppos'd to make any farther Breach in the Title to the Crown: And as in the other Case, the next capable Heir is declar'd Successor; so here the Succession runs still by an Hereditary Right, in the Channel of the Protestant Line.

But to return from this Digression, if it be one, I truly think all those noble Lords and Gentlemen, that resisted those Illegal Usurp'd Powers, from *Hamilton, Holland* and *Montross*, down to Sir *George Booth's Plot* against *Richard* and that Government,
I think

I think they fought not only for the *Stuarts*, nor only for a King of *England*, but for the Whole of that Noble Constitution, derived to them from their Ancestors, and destroy'd by their Inferiors; and so they will ever be Patriots with me. But in the late Motions I can see no Tendency to restore any thing to us, excepting our late just Fears and Apprehensions.

3dly, To this add, That pretended Government never gain'd a Proper or Legal Settlement in this Nation. The Tyrant *Oliver* was indeed fear'd as well as hated, and he rul'd with an Absolute Sway; but still he maintain'd his Post, more like the Governor of a *Garison* than a *Kingdom*, ever watchful, both against Surprize and Storm. The only Approach he made towards an Establishment, was the Project I mention'd before, of the Regal Title, upon which my Lord *Clarendon* says; *The more sober part of the King's Party, trembled at the Overture.* And adds what is very remarkable; *there was too much reason to fear, that much of that Affection that appeared under the Notion of Allegiance to the King, was more directed to the*
Monarchy

Monarchy than to the Person ; and that if Cromwell were once made King, and so the Government run again in the old Channel, though those who were in love with a Republick would possibly fall from him, he wou'd receive abundant Reparation of Strength, by the Accession of those who preferr'd the Monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most Men of Estates to an Absolute Acquiescence, if not to an entire Submission, Vol. 3. P. 461, &c.

But the Historian tells us, how he falter'd and fail'd in this Attempt ; and as our Constitution knows no such thing as a *Protector*, it cou'd never be said to be settled in his Hands ; and if not in his, then surely in none of those Leap-Frog Upstarts in the Rump and Army, that jump'd over each other by Turns ; and by their Nefarious Artifices brought this Nation to that Anarchy, that Mass of Confusion, which, as Mr. *Hobbs* remarks, roll'd backward and forward ; and by the very same Steps and Gradations, the Government was first alienated from the King to the Parliament, from that to the Rump, from the Rump to *Oliver* ; from *Richard*, *Oliver's* Representative, it return'd to the Rump, and from them to a Parliament, and from that to a King again.

Is there any thing in this Interval of Government, as I may term it, like our Case of a compleat Settlement, through Three, or rather Four, peaceful Successions upon the Revolution? I will not suppose you unconvinc'd in this Point; but I have mention'd this Circumstance of Settlement, not only to show the Disparity, but because I think this Hypothesis, and this only, will account for the Scripture Doctrine of *Submission to the Powers that be*; and for the Christian Practice in its purest Ages, under the Multitude and Variety of State Revolutions, through the Three first Centuries; but I leave that Subject to better Hands, and pass on to the

Second of those Particulars I laid down, *viz.* In what Circumstances they were, who opposed the Usurpation in the late Times. If the Circumstances of the Cases be as widely different as I have represented them, it would suffice for my Purpose, tho' those of the Persons were of the nearest Affinity, or exactly the same. But on the other Hand, I believe, we shall find such a remarkable Disparity in this Point, that were the two Cases the same, yet the Circum-

Circumstances of the Persons only in these two Schemes of Action, might forbid the Parallel.

And in the first Place let us consider Nature's Plea, Provocation. *Oppression*, says the Proverb, *makes a wise Man mad*; and so far it may entitle him, even in a bad Cause, to a Mad-Man's Excuse. But when *Oppression* follows at the Heels of *Usurpation*, it has a double Force to irritate, especially, if both the one and the other appear insupportable. To pass by the Loss of their Birthright, in representing, or being represented in Parliament, which was their Case both under the *Rump* and *Cromwell*; nor to tell you what vast Numbers of them lost their Liberty without any Evidence against them, but only on general Characters or concerted Reports; many of them were Exil'd; and all that had ever born Arms for the King, banish'd the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*. And how their Estates were dealt with, you may imagine, under the three Godly Terms of *Sequestration*, *Composition* and *Decimation*. The Whole was always sequester'd till Composition could be made; the Composition sometimes amounted to half the Purchase, and that Half was left as liable as the Whole had been; and was frequently

frequently sequester'd and compounded for again, without the least Regard to the Articles of a former Composition, and at last the poor Remainder suffer'd *Cromwell's* Decimation.

The prodigious Injustice and Cruelty of these new Governors, towards their Delinquents, in Tryals, Impeachments and Attainders, so far exceeded all Example before them ; that in one, they ingenuously resolve it shall be no Example after them. Vast Numbers of Executions they made, besides those of the principal Ministers of Church and State, and the Head of Both.

But these Particulars are endless ; one general Remark perhaps may give you some Idea of their Sufferings. It appears from all Accounts of those Times, that the poor Cavaliers were left to the usage of a standing Army, and an Army without any Government or Controul from the State ; which every Man that has seen the World, will guess must harrass them not a little. And yet, if we will believe my Lord *Clarendon* in what he says, *Vol. 3. P. 280.* the Parliament used them worse than the Army had done. And afterwards it will not be deny'd that *Cromwell's* Severity exceeded both ; for
C he

he pleaded a greater Necessity of State, as indeed there was, considering the more insupportable Weight of his Iron Rod. And cou'd the old Tyrant's Wish have been made good to him, and that Party of Men had had but one Neck, he wou'd undoubtedly have sever'd it at one Blow.

Such was the Provocation these Men Acted under ; which added to the Principles they acted upon, will I think fairly account, at least to Nature (and the Odds are generally on Nature's side) for all they did. I have observ'd in this latter Case of ours, that Provocation is much more pleaded than Principle ; I am concern'd to find it so, because I think Principle, if it be mistaken, is a better Plea than Provocation if it be falsely alledg'd. You and I have nothing to do with what lies undetermin'd by Law or the Legislature, which is the Case of those under Impeachment ; But what are they in Number to the Abettors of the Rebellion. Some are incens'd with the Loss of Places they held at Pleasure, while others have a sort of Negative Provocation, to see they are not like to come into any ; and these draw Multitudes after them, especially of those that are so unaccountably amus'd with the distant

stant Danger of a Religion, which is not the Religion of Him they have for their Sovereign, as to throw themselves into the nearer Prospect of a worse Religion, which is undoubtedly the Religion of Him they expect.

What is there then farther disgustful? Has the Sovereign trampled upon Law and Property? Not in a single Instance. And yet at him the Rebellion directly points, and takes others in but obliquely. Have others in the Administration acted with too much warmth? That methinks shou'd not be of Force enough to boil up a Nation into a Civil War. But this I must add too; that very few in our lower Stations are competent Judges to distinguish between the *Hot* and the *Zealous*, the *Irregular*, and the *Steady* Proceedings of those that move so much above us. We may, and ought to believe, that they can often see *Necessity*, where we cannot discern so much as *Expediency*; and in this Case, Censure it self will appear to be rash, but Rising and Rebellion something worse.

There are some other remarkable Circumstances in the Case of the Cavaliers, which I will briefly touch upon, and leave the Comparison to your self. One of these is,

that they had never made what cou'd properly be call'd a *Dedition* or Subjection of themselves to that Government. They were either banish'd Men, or lived at home more like Spies in a Foreign Country ; they did not pretend after the thorough Reformation, to appear as a Party in either House of Parliament, or any Publick Posts ; they had scarce any Civil Intercourse with those that comply'd ; in which, and several other Respects it must be said, that the then Government did it self no more than Justice, to look upon them as declar'd Enemies.

And agreeably to this open Behaviour, they almost every where refus'd both the *English* Vow, and the *Scotch* Covenant. Had they flock'd to *Cromwell's* Court, subscrib'd an Engagement to him, as he made the Members of Parliament do, and forswore the King's Right, they had certainly found more probable Means of destroying him. But it seems they thought such Obligations too strong to be broken, and too serious to be eluded ; and it is no more than a just Honour paid to their Memory, when I say they wou'd have suffer'd even more than they did, rather than have call'd God to Witness any such solemn Profession as this, That *Charles Stuart* hath
not

not any Right, Title, &c. whatsoever to the Crown of these Realms.

Much less is it Credible, that any of these Gentlemen would have rejected the Name of a *Royalist* as a wicked Reproachment upon them by their Adversaries, who were resolv'd to throw Dirt enough, that some of it might stick; and in return, having given out that the Rump and *Oliver's* Partisans, had a secret Design to restore the King, but themselves were the only Barriers against him. Such Practices, such Professions, must have cast a Blemish on the best Cause in the World, and an indelible Blot upon the Names engag'd in it. But it appears, thro' all the Accounts of that space of Time, that they had Conscience as well as Courage and Fidelity. In short, it may truly be affirmed, no History affords a Set of honefter Men; they acted a Part throughout, as consistent as Integrity requir'd, and as open as Prudence wou'd admit.

I neither need nor desire to make any Reflection on these Circumstances; give me only a little more of your Patience for the

3d. Enquiry my Method obliges me to make, which is, into the apparent Design and Tendency of the Opposition which the

the Cavaliers all along gave *that* Government. I have just now wav'd speaking to the latter of the Cases we are comparing together, and here I may as easily be allow'd to pass over the former ; it appearing sufficiently, I conceive, from above, that their Design was as good and great as can be, the Restitution, to an once flourishing Nation, of its Religion, Government, Law, Liberty, and Property ; all which fell with the one, and reviv'd with the other Monarch.

And as to the present Case, I will not presume to ascertain the Intention of many that have appeared for what they call the *Restoration* : I wou'd hope the Protestants had different Views from the Papists, tho' under the same Arms ; and yet I cannot but Remark one thing as I pass, which is, that we may modestly presume those *Roman-Catholicks*, who appear'd publickly with all the best Estates and Interest of that Party in that County, at the very beginning of the *Northumberland* Insurrection, had in their own Minds at least as strong Hopes and Assurances, that in case of Success, their Religion wou'd be Establish'd by him they fought for, as the others cou'd have that it wou'd not. This I say will appear a very modest Supposition, if we consider
that

that their darling Principle is not the *Support of a Constitution*, but the *Propagation of their Faith* ; and that in Opposition, if the Case shou'd so happen, to any Civil Constitution in the World.

This sure must leave the Case in doubt at least with every Protestant ; and that Doubt must terrify him with the Prospect of what may and must attend one Branch of the Doubt, if that prove to be the Case. A wise Man wou'd not chuse to have to do with a *Prevaricating Person*, in any Matters of Moment ; but 'tis a thousand times harder to deal with a *prevaricating Religion* ; there the Person deceives and ruins me upon Principle, and with his Conscience in his Breast : And therefore 'tis Infatuation in me to place my *Confidence* in him, who is sacredly bound to keep no *Faith* with me. This Reflection is so far from being over-strain'd, that I think I might extend it much farther, and prove that the most desirable Qualifications in a Prince, such as Sincerity in his Words, Stedfastness in his Professions, Conscience in his Principles, and Gratitude to those that serve and assist him well, are all so unfortunately combin'd in a Prince of the *Romish* Communion, against our Religion ; that the best his Pro-
testant

testant Friends can hope for, must be, that *he has none of them.*

But to leave the Religious View ; perhaps it may affect some People more, if the Prospect of our Civil Affairs be justly taken. At the Restoration of King *Charles*, the Nation was all on the sudden becalm'd, and over-joy'd, upon meer breathing, after infinite Miseries and Desolation. The first Free Parliament invited home their Prince, without one contradicting Voice, as my Lord *Clarendon* says. There had been no Alliances Abroad form'd to support *Cromwell's* Usurpations, however he was courted ; much less was the general Tranquility of *Europe* settled upon any Foundation to exclude the King ; nor lastly, was the Crown entail'd upon any other Potent Branch of his Family ; nor the least Pretence made of Incapacity in him.

If you consider these Circumstances, which I only mention, and leave to farther Consideration, I persuade my self you will find no Hopes in *the Case in view*, that it can ever prove any thing like the Peaceful Restoration of *Charles* the II^d. but that in all Human Prospect, every step this Interest Advances, involves us deeper in Blood and Confusion. And
methinks

methinks were there no other Arguments (as there are abundance) to persuade on the side of the present Settlement, yet a wise Man (and for ought I know, a good Christian too,) might be allow'd to espouse this part of the Question, only because it will very probably prevent that Civil War amongst us, and that Combustion in *Europe*, with which the other must be more than probably attended.

The more I think upon these Hints I have given you upon this Head, the more I stand amaz'd at some, who profess a Love to the Reformation and the Peace of their Country, yet slight all such Suggestions as these, under the Notion either of idle Fears, or remote Dangers.

But however that be, since 'tis hard to account for the different Make of Mens Minds, as it is to Censure them when they show any Marks of Integrity; I am in hopes you will, for the future, not think it a fair way of Discourse, to blacken any Cause with a Simile, which is as unjust, as it is odious. The Latin Proverb says, *Simile non currit quatuor pedibus*; It may be a good Simile, tho' it does not run of all four; but sure that can never be allow'd for a Simile, which has not one sound Foot to stand upon. 'Tis my Judgment, I confess, and I think I have said something to

D

sup-

support it, That wou'd the Interval of Time have permitted it, the very same Persons that Rose for King *Charles*, might very consistently have acted now in support of King GEORGE. However, I cannot think, if they look from another World upon this State of things, they must resent the Behaviour of their Posterity; nor, if you will give me leave for one Instance, cou'd I be perswaded that Honourable Person, Sir *Horatio Townshend*, who has one of the best Characters in my Lord *Clarendon's* History, for *worthy Principles*, and engaging all his Fortunes for his then Sovereign King *Charles*, would look down upon it as any *Degeneracy*, in a Right Honourable Successor of his, not less Zealous for his Majesty King GEORGE.

You will I believe pardon me in making thus free with the Dead, while I apprehend their Case to be so nearly Ally'd to the Case of the Living, that I think these are employ'd in the most effectual manner, to Support that which the others had most at Heart, *the Constitution of Church and State in this Nation*. And you must allow me this for an uncontestable Truth, that the *defended Cause* may be still one and the same, notwithstanding *different Enemies*, and the *Variety of Attacks* that are made upon it, Nay, that the Intention at least is the same,
in

in those who thought our Noble Constitution could not be repair'd without restoring that King to his Throne ; and these, who think it cannot be preserved, without supporting His present Majesty, and the Succession of this Protestant Line.

They who are under these Sentiments will and ought to act according to them. And those who have no such Apprehensions, but can see (what we cannot do) all Security, Tranquility, and Prosperity, to this Church and Nation, in that other Revolution, ought to give us either better Arguments for their Hopes than we do for our Fears ; and those we are willing to hearken to, or better Words than *Betrayers of our Church*.

This latter might justly be answer'd with Indignation ; but I do not delight in such Work, and shall only say thus much to it ; That if the Probabilities run higher, and the Arguments are more conclusive on our side than theirs, 'tis no matter how heavy the Charge is, since it must return back upon the Authors with greater Force than they cou'd possibly give it at the first throwing it out. And here is the proper Place, either to joyn Issue, or submit to Judgment, and I am sensible 'tis high time I should do the latter.

I wou'd

I wou'd not lengthen this Letter, by a needless Apology for the Length of it ; but I must say, that since the Argument intermixes so very much with our present Politicks, and is not only made an Offensive Weapon in Rebellion, but a Defensive one against all the Arguments we urge for Submission to the present Government, as if they wou'd equally plead and conclude for *Grandsire Nol* ; I cou'd not think fit to take a less Compass, when I sat down to write purposely on the Subject.

If these Thoughts put together, happen to give you any Satisfaction, you may communicate them to as many as you think proper. And if I have clearly deliver'd my self, upon the several Points, as they occur'd in the Method I propos'd, I assure you I love *Perspicuity* so much more than either *Wit* or *Satyr* ; that I shall be content if, to some sort of Persons, there appears much of an unfashionable Stiffness in this Letter.

I am

S I R,

Yours, &c.

F I N I S.

